brought in by government officials and their wives, but it is not obvious. Clapping the hands to summon a servant, rarely encountered in a typical Kurdish household, or prohibiting them the use of the toilet facilities of the master are the two most pointed examples. However, servants even in this category understand little of the servile behavior associated with those of the city. "It is comical," said an official. "My servant speaks to me like an old friend, and often tells me what to do. When I try to curse him for something, he argues with me and tells me that I am the one who is wrong. On the other hand, he never steals anything, and tells everyone in the neighborhood what a great man I am."

The service of others is by no means strange or uncommon in Kurdistan, but in the country the concept of a servant is that of a family retainer, a person of the second category and not a wage-earner or a menial, who receives food and lodging, and occasionally "gifts" of money, and who, while in no sense a party to the realities of inheritance or marriage, is to most purposes a member of the family. Indeed, the exchange of kinship terms, such as khal, "uncle," or pilk, "aunt," with such a retainer is commonplace, similar to our own "Uncle" Remus or "Aunt" Mandy prior to the Civil War. Almost all of these people come from the villages, and their residence in Rowandus is only temporary, although it may be repeated again and again. Many of the women have quarreled with their

no reason to believe, however, that such early prohibitions 582
differed too greatly from those formulated by the Prophet. 834
Specifically, it is forbidden for persons to marry their grandparents, parents, the brothers and sisters of their parents, and their own brothers and sisters. Further, noting that polygyny is permitted, a man is prohibited from [595]
having two sisters as his wives. Only if one sister dies, [587]
is he permitted to wed the survivor. Finally, an infant whose mother cannot feed him is often given to a wet-nurse, 582
608
and this person, no matter what her status (in Rowanduz [853]
she is typically a villager) becomes his "mother." In later life he is under the same restrictions toward her and her kindred as he is toward his own mother, for example, he can never marry her daughter. The townspeople of Rowanduz provided rationalizations for some of these matters, and they are subtended here with little comment. The rule that a man could not be married to two sisters simultaneously was explained by the usage that a husband habitually addressed his parents-in-law as "father" and [601] ●
"mother," his brother-in-law as "brother," and his sister- [606]
in-law as "sister," although, as will be seen, there are [607]
also separate terms for relatives by marriage. A man cannot take the sister of his wife as a second bride, it was said, because it was as if she were his real "sister," as he called her. In Kurdistan descent is commonly dis- 611
cussed in two ways, through the blood (khun) of the parents and through the milk (shir) of the mother. Great [853]

his father's brother's daughter is held as an inexorable rule, it can be seen that marriages must be arranged between pairs of brothers and sisters who are cousins to each other. Thus, one's father and father's brother are married to his mother and mother's sister respectively, and the mother's brothers and father's sisters make up third and fourth couples. If two things are envisaged, patrilocal residence and Islamic inheritance, it can be appreciated in the first regard that both the paternal and maternal aunts are parties to an individual's residence, the first, the wife of the mother's brother, before she is married, and the second, the wife of the father's brother, after her wedding. Both paternal and maternal aunts are described by the same kinship term, pilk. On the other hand, the paternal and maternal uncles are differentiated, called mam and khal respectively. The first lives under the parental roof of the individual concerned, and the latter marries this uncle's daughter. The maternal uncle, as has been seen, rarely, if ever, lives in the same house as his married sister, and in the system imagined here, one cannot marry his daughter. As far as inheritance is concerned, it has been noted that the property is divided, each son receiving a share and each daughter a half-share. If there are offspring, a man cannot claim any part of the estate of his maternal uncles or aunts. If, however, he is married to the daughter of a paternal uncle, his wife receives a half-share of her father's property, just as his sister, wed to the son of the paternal uncle, is given a

582 428 582 604 [591] [601]

their own brothers and sisters was known. The impression 582
the investigator obtained from all of these things was that 596
the patrilineage, expressed in the mal or "house," strongly
overrode the lateral calculation of relations to extend or
broaden the kinship group. Marriages undertaken for 581
economic or social advantage add to the divergency, inas-
much as they bring together at one point unrelated groups.
It must be remembered, however, that Rowanduz was re-
settled from various sources after its destruction in the
first World War, and the marriages of its families, many
of them migrants to the town, cannot be expected to show
the characteristics of a similar community whose popula-
tion had been left undisturbed. In the agricultural 621
villages of the district, it was said, somewhat arbitrarily, 602
that "everyone is related," but one suspects, in view of the 571
importance of the patrilineage and the form of inheritance,
that even in these places marriages characteristically
cause divergence in forming new family or mal-groups, and
the village population is constantly regrouping, rather
than constituting a systematically interrelated whole.

The Kurdish kinship nomenclature, as recorded at 601
Rowanduz, makes systematic use of a limited number of
basic terms. The first group of these, twelve in number,
indicate consanguineal relationships, those held to be
in the "milk" of the mother or in the "blood:"

1.	Ba pir	("Old Father")	Grandfather
2.	Da pir	("Old Mother")	Grandmother
3.	bab	("Father")	Father
4.	Dak	("Mother")	Mother

[Text continues on page 237]

Figure 4. Kurdish Kinship System, Consanguineal
The abbreviations are A, grandfather; B, grandmother; C, father; D, mother; E. paternal uncle; F, maternal uncle; G. aunt; H, brother; I, sister; J, son; K, daughter; L, grandchild; O, husband; P, wife. Two abbreviations paired together indicate that the second is in the genitive, for example, PE means "wife of paternal uncle." The chart is recorded for a male speaker, but the terminology is the same for Ego's sister. Kurdish equivalents may be found in the text and the appendix. △=male, and ○=female.

Figure 5. Kurdish Kinship System. Affinal
The abbreviations are M, father-in-law; N, mother-in-law; O, husband; P, wife; Q, son-in-law; R, daughter-in-law. Others are as in Figure 4. Those paired together indicate that the second is in the genitive, for example, IO means "sister of husband" and OI "husband of sister." The chart is recorded for a male speaker. The abbreviations in parentheses are the terms used by Ego's wife for her husband's consanguineal relatives. Kurdish equivalents may be found in the text and the appendix.

5.	Mam	-	Father's Brother
6.	Khal	-	Mother's Brother
7.	Pûk	("Aunt")	Parent's Sister
8.	Bra	("Brother")	Brother
9.	Khushk	("Sister")	Sister
10.	Kurr	("Boy")	Son
11.	Kich	("Girl")	Daughter
12.	Nawa	("Grandchild")	Grandchild

601

Two of these have been borrowed from Arabic, mam and khal, cognate with 'amm, "paternal uncle," and khal, "maternal uncle," respectively. On the other hand, the Arabic words for the paternal and maternal aunts, 'amma and khala, have not entered the Kurdish system. The reasons for the adoption of these two terms are difficult to discern. The two uncles are differentiated with respect to residence and their relationships with the individual to a much greater degree than the aunts. One might suspect that for these causes, or the use of Arabic in religious and legal documents, such as wills, over the centuries, the displacement of the original Kurdish names took place. This, however, cannot immediately explain why a similar adoption of Arabic for such words as "father" or "brother" did not also occur. The mechanism of diffusion, then, must await further study. [174]

The second group of terms, six in number, indicate affinal relations, those created by marriage:

1.	Khazur	-	Father-in-law
2.	Khazu	-	Mother-in-law
3.	Mard	("Man")	Husband
4.	Zhin	("Woman")	Wife
5.	Zawa	("Bridegroom")	Son-in-law
6.	Buk	("Bride")	Daughter-in-law

As noticed above, a man may address his wife's relatives by

those words he uses to describe his own. There is variability at certain points. If one marries his father's brother's daughter, he can alternately call his father-in-law mam, "father's brother," bab, "father," or khazur, "father-in-law." Similarly, the father's brother, in such a situation, can term his son-in-law kurri mam, "father's brother's son," kurr, "son," zawa, "son-in-law," or mardi kich, "daughter's husband." Generally speaking, however, the consanguineal term which had prior usage in such cases, for example, mam, rather than bab or khazur, continues in use and has a greater frequency than the others. 60)

The kinship system is of the sort commonly called "descriptive," that is, a term describes a single type of relationship and all others are made up of the basic list of twelve consanguineal and six affinal words. It contrasts with the "classificatory" system in which a term comprehends many different types of relationship. Thus, the daughter of the father's brother's son is kichi kurri mam, literally, "daughter of son of father's brother," or the husband of an aunt's daughter is mardi kichi pilk, "husband of daughter of parent's sister," and the way in which others are formed may be seen in the accompanying diagrams. As noted above, however, certain extensions are rarely used. The great-grandson of the father's brother is kurri kurri kurri mam, "son of son of son of father's brother," although the townspeople explained that never,

601

in their experience, had there been occasion to calculate to this degree. The "generation principle" is observed throughout, in that, unlike certain primitive nomenclatures in which a cousin, for example, may be called "uncle," one never finds the use of terms applicable to one generation of kindred in another. In addition, there is no difference in the terminology for a male or female speaker, as in some systems in which a woman has different terms for the same relative than those of a man. It is difficult to say to what extent kinship terms replace proper names in popular speech, but their usage seems extremely frequent. Just as in our own society, a person customarily addresses relatives of the generations above him as "grandfather," "father," and the like, while he calls those below him by their proper names.

The investigator feels called upon to compare his own list with that recorded by E. R. Leach for the Rowanduz "area."[1] This last, however, in Leach's work comprehends not only the Rowanduz district, but also extensive locales surrounding Shaqlawa and Erbil. Leach has not indicated in his text at what place within this large field of investigation his information was compiled. The points of divergence, as will be seen, are not of a serious nature.

	Masters	Leach
Father's brother	[illegible]	[illegible]
Father's brother's wife	[illegible]	[illegible]
Father's brother's son	[illegible]	[illegible]
Father's brother's daughter	[illegible]	[illegible]

[1]Leach, 1940, pp. 63-64.

Father's sister	pilk		pilk
Father's sister's son	kurri	pilk	purrza
Father's sister's daughter	kichi	pilk	purrza
Father	bab		bab
Mother	dak		dak
Mother's brother	khal		khalo
Mother's brother's son	kurri	khal	khaloza
Mother's brother's daughter	kichi	khal	khaloza
Mother's sister	pilk		purr
Mother's sister's son	kurri	pilk	purrza
Mother's sister's daughter	kichi	pilk	purrza
Brother's son	kurri	bra	braza
Brother's daughter	kichi	bra	braza
Sister's son	kurri	khushk	khushkza
Sister's daughter	kichi	khushk	khushkza
Husband's brother	bra'i	mard	mardbra
Husband's sister	khushki	mard	mardkhushk
Wife's brother	bra'i	zhin	zhinbra
Wife's sister	khushki	zhin	zhinkhushk

601

The Kurdish language of northern Iraq exhibits a large number of dialectical differences, some more striking than others. It must be remembered again that the population of Rowanduz is derived from diverse sources, and linguistic peculiarities of the town itself, of the villages, and of other areas, such as Sulaymaniya, may be heard intermingled in everyday speech. The investigator recorded a number of the forms presented by Leach, but has chosen to submit the terms given by Ra'uf Effendi and a merchant whose families had lived in the town in Ottoman times. Most of the discrepancies between this list and that of Leach appear to be dialectical. Those he presents for the paternal and maternal uncle, mamo and khalo, however, are inflected in vocative, as in "O uncle!" The noun za which appears in his list for the children of father's brother and sister, mother's brother and sister, and the individual's brother and sister means alternately "boy" or "girl." Finally, in usual Kurdish word order, as in the investigator's report,

[197]

601
193
197

a noun precedes its genitive and is inflected, for example, 601
khushki mard, "sister of husband," rather than *mardkhushk*. 193
This last series of observations is not that of the investi- 197
gator himself, but were offered informally by E. M. McCarus, a linguist who has made the Kurdish language the subject of an extensive study.

In approaching relationships within the *mal* or 554
"house," several things must be emphasized in order that a 577
proper perspective may be gained. The first of these is 602
the question of family honor. Personal honor, for example, in cases in which a man might acquire a reputation as a liar, a thief, a weakling, or the like, seems always to be dwarfed by the larger matter of family honor, and, as noticed in the section treating society, this is closely connected with that of the household's women. This is measured in two 562
regards, whether or not the woman has been chaste prior to [836]
her marriage and whether or not she remains faithful to [837]
her husband after it. One of its several expressions, for
woman of the upper strata of society, the townswoman of [565]
wealthier homes and the wives of the aristocrats and [291]
officials, is the wearing of the veil. Such women are required to conceal their faces, if not their persons, from those unrelated or not intimately known to their families. The women of the lower classes are unveiled, but even then are not permitted extended traffic, such as lengthy conversations, with males unknown to their husbands. The decorum demanded of women serves to orient relationships within and without the household. Coupled with this

subsistence that will provide that deep contentment of mind, the harmony of mind, that I came across in the village women who could neither read nor write?

The boys, even as small as 6–7 years of age, led in Sulaimani what we should call a street life. Playgrounds were unknown, corresponding to the fact that the attitude there was not that childhood should be passed in play. To give street life its due, it must be remembered that the men, so to say, live in the street, whilst the women and small children occupy the home. At work and at leisure boys and men spent their time outside the home. In consequence the boys obtained a street education among men, and we must return to ancient Greece to discover a parallel[39] showing the positive and negative aspects of this form of education.

The Coran, Sure 4, verse 1, says: "Be careful of your duty towards Allah ..... and towards the wombs (that bore you)". This command is honoured to a high degree on the part of a son. To illustrate the intimate relations between mother and son, I once saw a young Kurd climbing up the steep hill to the small hospital at the Dokan Dam Site with his sick mother on his back, apparently a more comfortable mode of transport for her than a donkey or a mule[40].

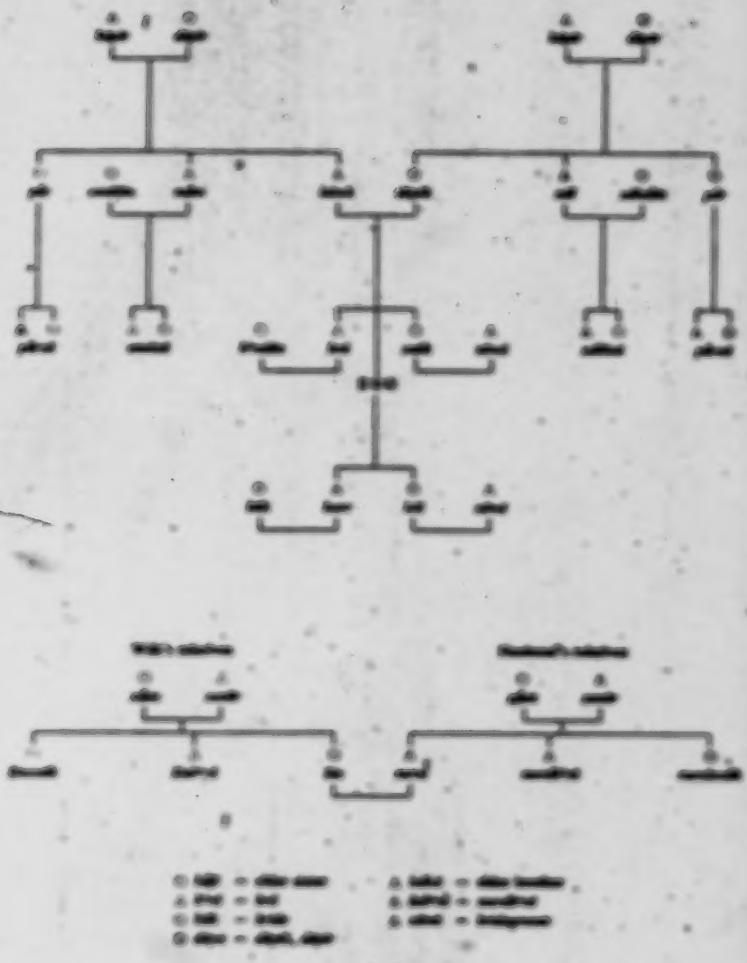
MARRIAGE

The limitations in the choice of spouse are found in the Coran[41]. A man cannot marry his own mother (or other of his father's wives), his daughter or granddaughter, his mother's sister, his father's sister, his sister, his brother's daughter, his mother-in-law or step-daughter. But, in addition, a non-marriageable relationship exists not only between blood relations and intermarried persons but also in respect of milk kinship, which is put on a par with blood relationship. As the law at the same time recommends that a spouse be sought within the family, marriage possibilities are cousins and second cousins, that is the descendants of uncles, aunts, grand uncles and grand aunts[42]. Of these marriage possibilities the cousin on the father's side is preferable and then the cousin on the mother's side. The terms in the Kurdish kinship system, purely descriptive indicating the genealogical distance between close relations[43], are: father's brother's daughter, amidal, (ortho-cousin marriage); father's sister's daughter, pûrmal, (cross-cousin marriage); mother's brother's daughter, xalmal, (cross-cousin marriage), and mother's sister's daughter, pûrmal, (ortho-cousin marriage).

In the homes I stayed in I met in the village upper class the father's brother's daughter wedding which, according to Leach[44] and Barth[45] is that preferred by Kurds. In the sheikh family at Tuqawa the wife was the daughter of the father's brother in Sargaly. In Serkan two of the sheikh's three married sons were married to two sisters, both daughters of the father's brother. According to Leach the marriages of village leaders "tend to have political influence" like the "Royal marriages of medieval Europe"[46]. In my experience this was not so, for the cases I met were the father's brother's daughter choice as common in lower strata.

It was stated that two families could exchange daughters. Both my interpreter and Sheikh Taiba's brother said that if the desired bride had an older brother, a bride for him is demanded from the bridegroom's family. When asked, the 18 year old son of the Sheikh of Tuqawa said further that a man in his milieu was able to marry anyone he wished. However, I do not think that too much faith

KINSHIP TERMS



104
60

LIST OF KURDISH TERMS EMPLOYED

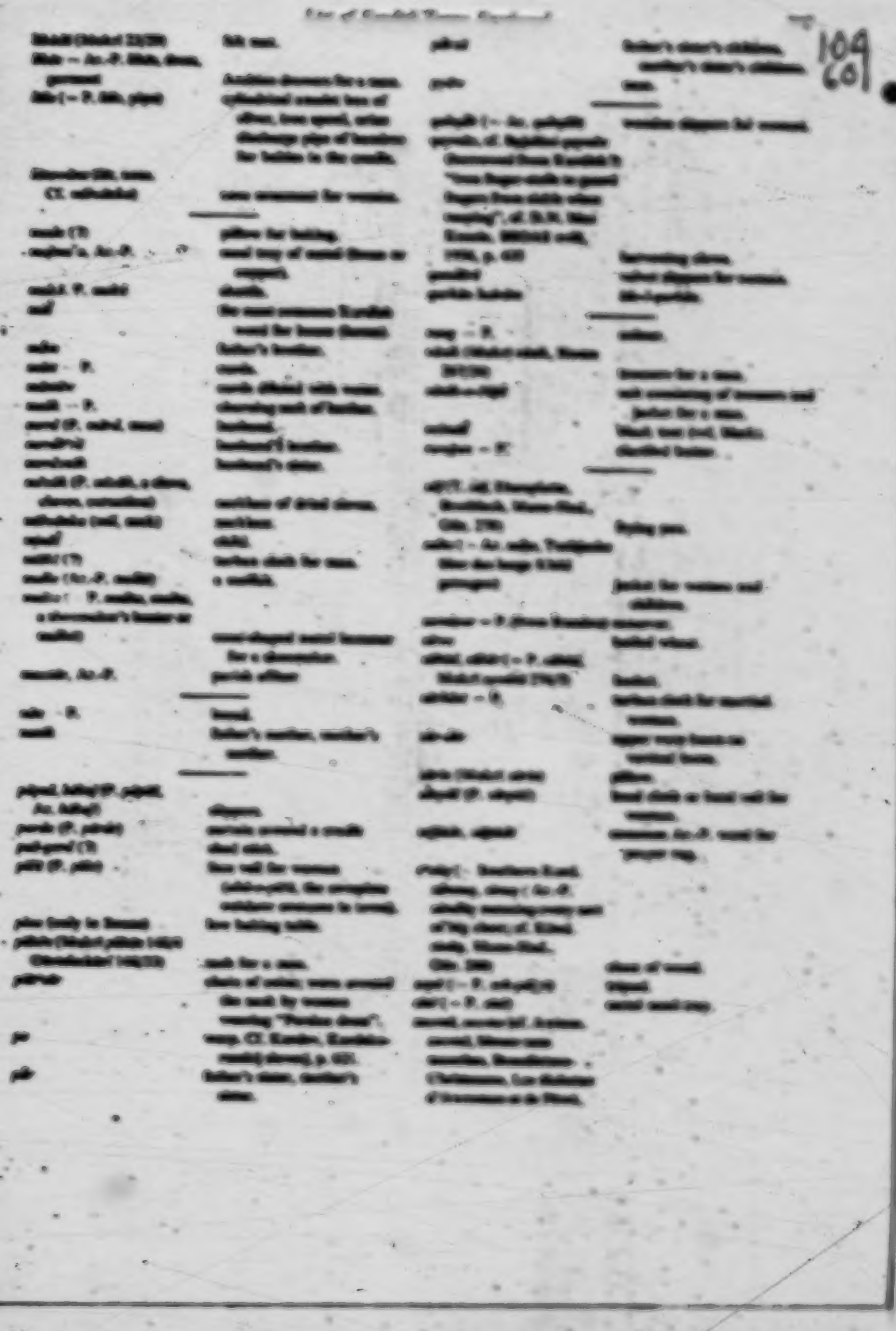
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

104

109
60



104
601

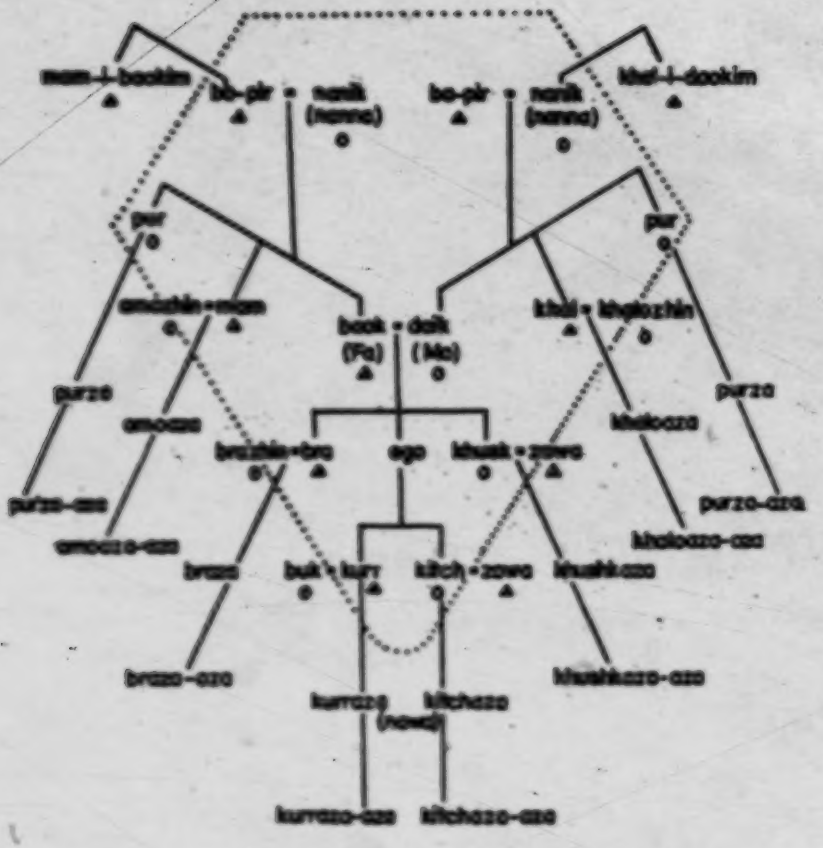
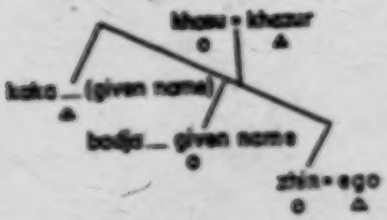


Diagram No. 2.
South Kurdish kinship terms,
Sulaimani dialect.

IN-LAW TERMS



7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

but respect. This and the above use of *xasma* is however in no real sense of the term a classificatory usage, any more than is 'sis' in colloquial American or *farbror* in Swedish, the latter having connotations very parallel to *mam*. As a potential father-in-law, ones *mam* is an important relative, and a friendly relationship will secure one's right to his daughter and release from brideprice obligations.

An interesting contrast to Kurdish intimacy with FaBr and his descendants is evident from Afghan usage, where the word for MoBr.'s children is synonymous with friends and FaBr.'s children with enemies, this in spite of a probably otherwise similar social structure.[1]) The general explanation for such strained relations with FaBr.'s relatives lies in the potential conflict connected with inheritance, where MoBr.'s children are less important as competitors. The prevalence of FaBrDa marriage in Kurdish villages undoubtedly serves to gloss over these tensions.

Affinal relations are, as far as the male is concerned, of secondary importance, and the basic terms for spouse's father, mother, adult brother and adult sister suffice. The woman, except for these terms, adopts the kinship designations of her husband, usually with the given name of the person appended. Children are called by their given names. — The general nature of in-law relationships is indicated by the proverb: *Khoda bida mergim, zawa neka bergim* = «God let me die, rather than be dependent on son-in-law (or brother-in-law).

Certain affinal relations are designated by suffixing *-zhin* (woman) to the term for their agnatically related husband. The resulting terms, *amozhin* (= wife-of-FaBr) etc., seem to be used as actual kinship terms. The parallel usage of 'husband-of-so-and-so' is purely descriptive and does not constitute a term in itself. Son's wife is called «bride» and husband of sister and daughter is called «groom».

A striking feature of the Kurdish kinship system is the small number of basic terms, totalling only twelve. The group of relatives covered by these terms is a bilateral kin group, and includes all individuals in the elementary families of which ego or ego's parents

[1]) I am indebted to Prof. Morgenstierne for drawing my attention to this contrast.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

601 ●

are members during their lives. The suffix *-aza*, literally «child of» or «born of» indicates removal by one descending generation from this group; repetition of the term indicates two generations' removal. Thus son's son is *kurraza*, while FaBrDaDa, a frequent substitute wife when a closer relative is unavailable, is *amoaza-aza*. Ascending generations are categorized by constructing similar bilateral units with ego's father or grandfather in the position of ego. They may thus be described in several ways, according to the type of relation one whishes to stress. E. g. FaFaBr may be *bra-i-bapirem*, brother-of-my-grandfather, or more commonly *mam-i-baokim*, uncle-of-my-father.

361

So much for the structure of the family and household. The village community, in which these activities take place and relations exist, will be described more fully at a later point, (p. 101 ff). Suffice it here to say that in physical layout it is a very compact, small unit, located close to or within the village agricultural lands. Usually placed on a hill, one will tend to find the un-irrigated fields of beans and lentils above the village, higher up in the valleyside. Irrigated tobacco and vegetable plots, where such are found, generally depend on the same source of water as the village itself, and are thus found close around and below it; while the dryland grainfields usually cover the flats in the valley bottom. The village grazing grounds may be quite large, stretching from the fallow fields in the valley bottom to the top of the ridge which divides this valley from the next. And the limits of the village lands are the limits within which most life activities take place.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

• 601 Reference to the tables of kinship Terminology at the end of this book will show that the various cousins are known by the following terms

Father's Brother's children - amosa
Father's Sister's children - purrsa
Mother's Brother's children - khalosa
Mother's Sister's children - purrsa

My knowledge of the Kurdish language was not sufficient to verify the exact use of these terms, and to some extent my informants were contradictory. It would appear however that some of these terms are "classificatory" at least so far as all members of Ego's own tira are concerned. Thus to quote an example Hamid Amin i Nanpurdan considers himself amosa to Sheikh Mohammad i Walaah. Hamid Amin is actually great-great-grandson of Mir Mahmal Agha and Sheikh Mohammad is great-grandson of the same man. Again I was told of the Dizai tribe, a group widely scattered in Area C that "they all call one another amosa" - (implying that they were all one tira)

582 601 According to my informants the order of preferred marriages is:-

1st Amosa
2nd Purrsa (Father's sister's daughter)
3rd Khalosa
4th Purrsa (Mother's sister's daughter)

This statement seems consistent with the customs recorded for other Mohammedan areas (See Seligman B.Z. op.cit 268) but I was unable to check the frequency of particular types of marriage. It should be noted that Father's Brother's Daughter (amosa) and Mother's Sister's Daughter (purrsa) may frequently be the same individual, and similarly Mother's Brother's Daughter (Khalosa) may coincide with Father's sister's Daughter (purrsa). Amosa and khalosa could however only coincide if both were used in a classificatory sense. I did not actually encounter any classificatory use of the term khalosa and this probably refers only to the immediate children of the mother's brother (khalo). It would appear that until very recently not only was marriage between amosa the preferred norm, it was also a definite right. Hay (p. 71) even records the gruesome murder of a girl who refused to abide by this ruling. Today though marriage restrictions are to some extent relaxed it is probable that the great majority of commoners still take their wives from within the patrilineal group. There is in fact very little choice in the matter. In the Balik country at any rate the proportion of 'strangers' - e.g. Jews, Assyrian Christians, traders, Kurds from other tribes and so forth, is very small; nearly everyone within the group belongs to one of the three patrilineal clans. These clans moreover are themselves more or less segregated each by itself. Within any single gund nearly everyone is of the same clan as the Agha.

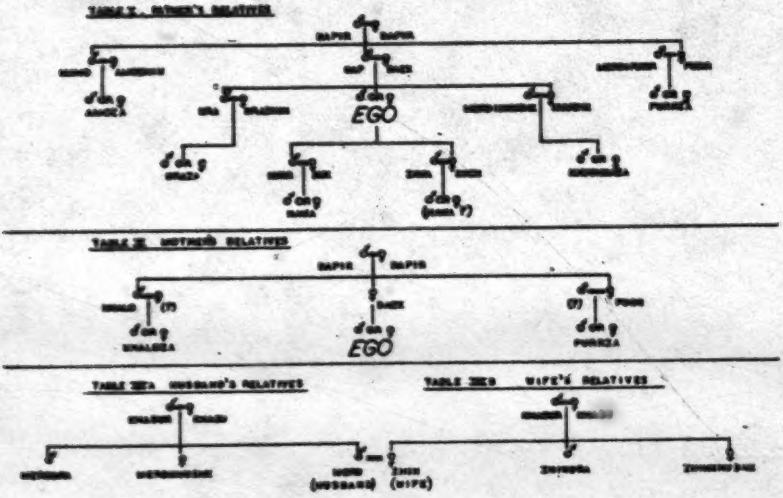
582 614

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

p.63

601 •

KINSHIP TERMS



8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

APPENDIX.

601 Note on Table of Kinship Terms

General. The Kurdish language spoken in the Rowanduz area has much in common with old Persian, but contains far fewer Arabic importations than does modern Persian. In both languages the kinship terms show a blending of Indo-European and Semitic roots but there is no close correspondence. Thus:-

	Kurdish	Persian	Arabic
Grandfather	bapir	jadd	jidd
Father	bap	pidar	abu
Mother	dayk	madar	umm
Uncle (paternal)	mamo	'amu	'amm
" (maternal)	khalo	khal	khal
Brother	bra	biradar	akh
Sister	khushk	khahar	ukht
Son	kurr	pisar	ibn
Daughter	kich	dukhtar	bint

It may be significant however that in both Kurdish and Persian Semitic words are used to describe the two types of Uncle.

Table 1. As explained elsewhere in the text, the term mamoa (father's brother's child) appears to be used in a classificatory sense to include all members of Ego's tira. The colloquial use of the English word 'cousin' is closely analogous to this. It is not clear whether terms such as mardikhushk (literally 'husband of sister') are merely descriptive in the sense of 'my sister's husband', or whether they are actual terms of colloquial reference such as 'brother in law'.
Buk - 'daughter in law' - literally means 'bride'
Zawa - 'son in law' - " " 'bridegroom'
Nawa - 'grandchild' - seems to have an extended meaning in the sense of 'descendants'.

Table 2. Note that in a system of ortho-cousin marriage, 'mother's brother' may frequently be married to 'father's sister', so that the 'khaloza' may also be members of Ego's own tira.

Table 3. Zhin - 'wife' - and mard - 'husband' - mean literally simply 'women' and 'man' respectively.

[595] It is not clear how any of these tables are affected in a situation of Polygyny. Thus Jalal Beg, eighth son of the Mir of Dergala told me that he had only one brother - i.e. by his own mother. He said he addressed his step-mothers as dayk, but if he wanted to be more specific would add a name; thus dayk Fatim - 'mother Fatima'. I do not know whether any distinction is made between uncles who are full brothers of Ego's father and those who are only half brothers.